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ABSTRACT

Parents living in the Coquitlam School District in British Columbia can choose between public and private schools and between English language and French immersion programs in the public schools. This study investigates the choice-making behavior of parents enrolling their children in kindergarten in fall 1977 in terms of socioeconomic factors, access and ability to use information, mastery of English, and sources of information. The study isolates those elements acting as determinants of parental choice and contributes to the debate on choice by informing policy-makers about the sources of information parents use in selecting schools and programs, their reasons for the choice, and the criteria they employ. (Author)

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"Determinants of Parental Choice in Schooling: The Coquitlam Experience"*

Susana Cogan

Parents living in the Coquitlam School District in British Columbia can choose between public and private schools and between English Language and French Immersion programs in the public schools. This study investigates the choice making behavior of parents enrolling their children in kindergarten in fall 1977 in terms of socio-economic factors, access and ability to use information, mastery of English, and sources of information. The study isolates those elements acting as determinants of parental choice and contributes to the debate on choice by informing policy makers about the sources of information parents use in selecting schools and programs, their reasons for the choice and the criteria they employ.

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DETERMINANTS OF PARENTAL CHOICE IN SCHOOLING: THE COQUITLAM EXPERIENCE

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INTRODUCTION

In education, the historic tension between the individual and the state lies in who should decide how a child is to be educated - the parent or the state. For over a century the state has controlled, through the public school system, the education received by most children and has controlled, through minimum standards the education received by private school students.

Debate over the quality of public education is endemic in North America. Scholars (Carlson, 1964; Coons and Sugarman, 1978) single out the lack of choice in schooling as one of the causes of poor education arguing that the monopolistic character of the public school system helps preserve schools unchanged, regardless of on-going criticism. To increase choice in schooling, several proposals have been developed: vouchers, (Friedman, 1966), public schools of choice (Fantini, 1973) and family power equalization (Coons, Clune and Sugarman, 1970). Common to these proposals is the capacity of consumers to select the kind of education desired, the main assumption behind this argument being that competition between schools induced by the free market would improve quality of services. Individual choice advocates also believe that choice would cause a better match between learning and teaching styles (Fantini, 1973). In addition they argue that if individuals are allowed a choice, an increase in individual freedom would result. Closely linked to this argument, is the claim that such choice would foster multiculturalism by allowing minorities to decide their own education (Erickson, 1969; Read, 1974; Arons, 1976; Everhart, 1977). Finally, individual choice of schools is proposed by those who would like to see

private school patrons exempt from paying public school taxes (West, 1975).

In contrast, those who favor state intervention argue that it is necessary in order to protect minors from negligent or incompetent parents (Benson, 1965; Levin, 1968). In addition, they claim that state intervention is required if society is to benefit from 1) the external effects caused by an educated population and 2) the achievement of social cohesion through the promotion of specific common values. (Blaug, 1970) Through compulsory public schools children from a variety of social and ethnic backgrounds can be educated on the accepted social values. Another argument refers to natural educational monopoly that tends to develop in areas of low population density. State intervention is necessary then to guarantee minimum educational standards. Finally, state intervention is fostered due to the need to account for imperfections of the capital market which do not permit access to private loans for educational purposes (West, 1975). Philosophical arguments may go on and on. In order to clarify these issues it may be necessary to seek factual evidence through empirical studies. This is the aim of the present study.

The present research focuses on the reported school choice behavior of parents living in the Coquitlam School District, British Columbia, who enrolled their children in kindergarten for the fall of 1977. Parents in the sample could choose between private and public schools and within the public schools they had a choice of English or French programs. The study investigates the degree of choice exerted (passive, narrow active or wide active) in terms of socio-economic factors. In addition it researches: 1) the type, number and sources of information available to parents and used by parents, 2) who the participants are in the school choice process, 3) the criteria used by parents in the selection of school and program; and, 4) the "price", in terms of distance, transportation means and choice of neighborhood, parents are

willing to pay to select a school.

THE STUDY

a. Conceptual Framework:

Two conceptual studies provided the general framework. The first, by Engel, Kollat and Blackwell (1968), is a decision-process model of consumer behavior. In this model, the conduct of the consumer is initiated by stimuli determined basically by the way information is processed by the consumer and the environmental influences affecting the consumer and his/her personality. The model consists of five processes linked in a sequence: (1) problem recognition (2) alternative evaluation-internal search, (3) alternative evaluation - external search, (4) purchase and (5) outcomes. (Sonnenfeld, 1973, p. 11)

The second conceptual study used is a model developed by Sonnfeld (1973) to be specifically applied to the case of family choice in schooling. For his analysis he adapted the model developed by Engel, Kollat and Blackwell. As he states:

> (1) Families recognize discrepancies between the schooling which their children are receiving (or are scheduled to receive) and the schooling which they would prefer, (2 and 3) They search for and evaluate alternative ways of resolving this discrepancy (4) they select a school; and 5) They experience the consequences of, and reevaluate, their decision. (p. 12)

In addition, the purposes of the Uchitelle and Nault (1977) study were considered as it was felt of interest to have similar objectives in order to allow for possible comparisons of results. As the authors state:

> The purpose of the study .... was to examine the school choice behavior of the Collegeville parents who lived within three optional attendance zones and who were sending their children to the Collegeville schools for the first time. Interviews with the parents addressed three related questions:

1) (Did) parents who were offered a choice deliberate about the options available to them or (did) they choose a school on the basis of one or two narrow choice criterion. (Proximity and racial composition).

2) What procedures (did) the parents follow in selecting a school?

3) What criteria (did) the parents use in making their final decision? (pp. 5-6)

Both studies share a common concern: do parents choose on the basis of all the available options open to them or, do they choose as Uchitelle and Nault state on the basis of "one or two narrow choice criterion"? (p. 5)

Correspondingly, Sonnenfeld addresses this issue and divides choices in schooling into "active" and "passive". He states:

> Passive choices are those situations in which families consider no more than one schooling alternative in selecting schools for their children, i.e. ....families automatically sending their children to their local neighborhood school" (proximity). On the other hand, "active choices" are .... those situations in which families select a school for their children only after serious consideration of multiple schooling alternatives. (1973, p. 12)

The present research will discriminate between active and passive school choices. In order to study both types of parental choices it is necessary to first consider the context in which parents select a school.

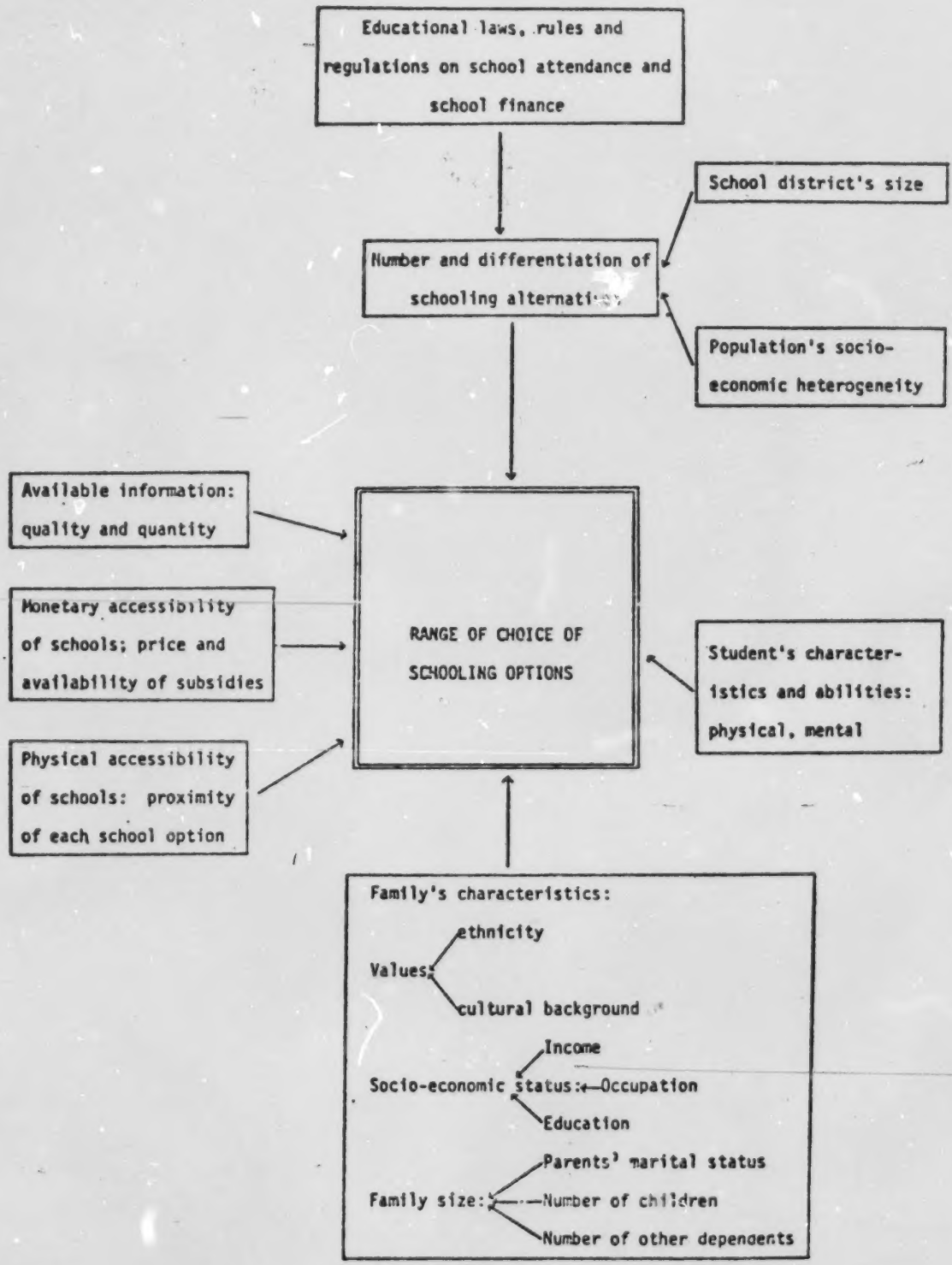
Parents face a range of schooling options that are determined by the interaction of several variables in a specific context. Figure 1 indicates the main variables.

b. <u>The Problem</u>

Parents living in Coquitlam, B.C., can choose either actively or passively from three different elementary school programs. Within the public school system, parents can choose to enrol their children either in the English Program or the French Immersion Program. As well, the

Figure 1

Variables Affecting the Range of Schooling Options


Educational laws, rules and regulations on school attendance and school finance
School district's size
Number and differentiation of schooling alternatives
Population's socio-economic heterogeneity
Available information: quality and quantity
Monetary accessibility of schools; price and availability of subsidies
Physical accessibility of schools: proximity of each school option
RANGE OF CHOICE OF SCHOOLING OPTIONS
Student's characteristics and abilities: physical, mental
Family's characteristics:
Values: ethnicity, cultural background
Socio-economic status: Income, Occupation, Education
Family size: Parents' marital status, Number of children, Number of other dependents

private school system offers a religious (Roman Catholic) and bilingual (French and English) program. There are two such schools in Coquitlam.

* "How do parents choose?"

This study defines passive choice as the behavior of parents who, based on the criteria of proximity, have considered only one school and have chosen a program with no deliberation on the alternative one. In contrast, active choice is defined as the behavior of parents who select a school and:

1) consider one school only but for reason(s) other than proximity.

2) consider more than one alternative school.

3) choose a program after deliberating over alternative ones.

In order to examine parent's school choice behavior two questions were initially posed: First it seemed interesting to identify which parents actively choose a school for their children. In what ways do active choice parents differ from passive choosers? Second, why do parents choose a school for their children? Passive choice parents exert their choice by considering only one alternative school. Why do they consider just one alternative? Active choice parents generally consider several alternative schools. What stimulates these parents' search?

Finally, the decision-process that parents follow to exert their choice is analyzed. How do active and passive parents choose? What are their information sources, how do they process the information, who participates in the decision process and what are the criteria used in the

final selection?

c. Hypotheses and Questions:

The following hypotheses and related questions were examined:

Hypothesis 1: The degree of parental choice in schooling, (PCS), measured as the percentage of parents who exert an active choice in schooling for their children, will be greater the higher the parent's Socio-economic status (SES), given the same amount of quality of information available.

Other questions related to this hypothesis are:

a) Can a proportion of passive choice be due to a previous search of the market, i.e. search done for older siblings?

b) What percentage of parents enrolling their children in the English Program considered the alternative French Program?

Hypothesis 2: The degree of parental choice in schooling will be greater the greater the parents' access and ability to use information; that is the better the parents' mastery of English, the greater the number of sources of information they have contact with, given schooling alternatives and the same amount and quality of information available.

Other questions related to this hypothesis were posed in order to learn more about the decision process:

a) What are the main sources of information about schools and programs used by parents?

b) Who participates in the decision making process?

c) Who makes the final decision?

d) What is the country of origin of parents in the sample?

e) What are the main reasons for choosing a house in the area?

Hypothesis 3: Parents choose (actively or passively) a school for their children according to certain criteria.

Hypothesis 4: The rating of the criteria by the parents will differ among the different social classes. High SES parents will rate higher criterion such as social and physical environment of the school, school's program, and child's personality. Low SES parents will rate higher criterion such as location and cost.

A related question asked: What is the "mean price" (measured in terms of distance and transportation means) that active parents are willing to "pay" for the desired schooling?

d. Selection of the Research Setting

Two conditions were established in selecting a setting. First, the school district where the study was to be carried out should offer parents a clear choice within the public elementary school system and also have private schools established in the area. Second, if possible, the population living in the area should be socio-economically heterogeneous.

Coquitlam School Board became the focus of attention as it offered two distinctly different programs: English and French instruction. Although students enrolling in the English program are usually expected to enrol in the school closest to their home, they may select another school in consultation with both principals. Furthermore some students attending French Immersion Programs do come from outside the usual school's catchment area. In addition, two Roman Catholic private elementary schools are established within the Coquitlam School District's boundaries. As school fees are low ($10-15/month for a child enrolled in kindergarten) and there are subsidies, for those in need, parents may consider these schools with almost no monetary restraints. Some parents may have philosophies that exclude as alternatives the two Catholic private schools yet all parents in Coquitlam can choose from a variety of programs and some from a variety of schools.

The socio-economic characteristics of the area were available through Statistics Canada's Census, 1971. The information on average household income, education, occupation, housing value and ethnicity by census-tract was used to describe the area surrounding each one of the schools

in the study. Generally, the population living within the Coquitlam School District's boundaries is average middle class, but there are pockets of low high socio-economic level families. Of the seven schools that were considered, two are located close to low SES areas and one in a high SES area. Thus, the main conditions initially stated, school choice availability and SES heterogeneity, are met by the Coquitlam School District.

e. Target Population

Parents enrolling their children in the five elementary public schools that offer both English and French programs and those enrolling their children in the two private schools were considered as the target population. It was felt that older children could influence the final selection of schools. Therefore, in order to isolate parental choice of schooling, only parents enrolling their children in pre-school (only one school) or kindergarten (all seven schools) for the year 1977-78 were considered.

Addresses of 311 students were obtained from the school principals. Due to parents enrolling a child in more than one school or, enrolling more than one child in the same school the number of parents was reduced to 300. (Table 1) The seven selected schools were visited and each one of the principals was interviewed. The object of these interviews was to collect information on the alternative choices parents could make. Interviews were structured by using a questionnaire. From the interviews a description of the schools in terms of enrollment, class size, teacher qualifications, program, curriculum, textbooks, facilities, parent participation, information provided to parents before enrolment, average student's socio-economic level, and extra-curricular activities was obtained. Information requested was of the kind that would help parents select a school.

Table 1

Population and Sample Size by Schools and Classes

School	Class	Number of students	Parents in sample		Final Responses	
			n	%	n	%
1.	Pre-K	26	20	13	21	11
	K	19	19			
2.	K	25	24	8	14	8
3.	Eng. K	20	20	14	24	13
	Fr. K	23	23			
4.	Eng. K	13	12	12	24	13
	Fr. K	29	26			
5.	Eng. K	23	23	20	40	22
	Fr. K	36	36			
6.	Eng. K	41	41	17	33	18
	Fr. K	9	9			
7.	Eng. K	26	26	16	23	12
	Fr. K	21	21			
Other reported schools					6	3
Total		311	300	100%	185	100%

f. Method of Collecting Data

Data was collected through a self-administered questionnaire. As the core of the questionnaire would touch on personal values and attitudes it was felt that greater flexibility in the responses could be achieved by including both structured and open ended questions.

* Pilot test of the Questionnaire

The instrument was pre-tested in a sub-urban community. Population characteristics were similar to those of Coquitlam. The questionnaire was distributed to fourteen parents who were instructed to record the amount of time spent in answering and to comment on any ambiguous questions. All parents responded and as a result of the testing of the draft questionnaire, some questions were reworded and two questions were omitted.

* Administration of the Questionnaire

Following the pilot test, the revised form of the questionnaire was sent to parents involved in the study. Included with the questionnaire were a covering letter from the researcher, a covering letter from the Coquitlam Superintendent of Schools for those parents patronizing the public schools and a prestamped, addressed envelope for return of the questionnaire.

Two weeks after the questionnaires were mailed a 33% response rate was reached. In order to accelerate responses 220 reminder letters were mailed. After a period of two months, of the 300 mailed questionnaires, 185 responses and 5 undelivered questionnaires had been returned. As a result the final rate of return was 63%.

DATA ANALYSES AND FINDINGS

a) The Schools

An active choice of schooling is based on knowledge about the possible alternative schools available. In order to collect information about the schools included in the study, school district personnel and the principals of each of the seven schools were interviewed. Trying to take a parent's point of view, the questions were designed to elicit similarities and differences among public and private schools, and French and English programs, and to compare the different public schools in the sample. The analysis that follows in this section is based upon data collected in those interviews. All claims are the result of principal's points of view.

There are only two private schools in the area of the Coquitlam School District, Schools 1 and 2. Both schools are located within the Coquitlam Municipality and are relatively close to each other. Some distinctive features of the two private schools are:

* religious education (Roman Catholic)
* bilingual education for all students (French and English)
* fees are paid by the parents (average monthly kindergarten fee per student: $12.50)
* average total school enrollment: 167 students
* average kindergarten class size: 16 students
* most of the teachers possess a B.C. teaching certificate (1 teacher out of 9 does not have any certification)
* both schools follow provincial curricular guidelines
* both schools are structured; children are assigned to each class level according to their ages
* strong parental participation
* small classes permit close student supervision.

There are five public elementary schools that offer both French Immersion and the English program in the Coquitlam School District: two in Coquitlam Municipality, one in Port Moody and two schools in Port Coquitlam.

Some distinctive features of these five schools are:

* non-denominational education
* students may receive their instruction either in English or French
* "free" (parents pay through taxes only)
* average total school enrollment: 465 students
* all teachers possess a B.C. teaching certificate
* schools follow provincial curricular guidelines
* four of the five schools offer a traditional structured program: students are assigned to each class level according to their age.
* all five schools use ability groupings within each classroom usually to teach language arts and mathematics
* some parental participation.

One school must be discussed separately. Of all seven schools studied, School 7 is the one that offers parents and students the greatest choice as it has a French Immersion and an English Program. The French Program is administered through a traditional system while in the English Program, parents can choose to enrol their children either in a traditional or an open area program. Open area programs are offered for grades 1 and 2, and 5, 6 and 7. In this latter group one can find children working in multiple groupings. In addition, instruction is individualized through performance contracting.

A comparison of French Immersion and English Programs shows that the contents of both programs are the same, the only difference being the language of instruction. Also, the French Immersion curriculum is the same for all five schools and although teachers have a choice of materials they tend to use the same textbooks in all five schools.

The two private schools follow a bilingual scheme for instructing in both French and English. Table 2 compares French instruction in all seven schools.

Table 2

Percentage of French Instruction

Grade	Public Schools	Private School 1	Private School 2
pre-school	-	100	-
K	100	100	100
1	100	100	60
2	100	80	40
3	84	50	20
4	84	25	20
5	65	25	20
6	65	25	20
7	65	25	20

Clearly, in Coquitlam, children going to French immersion programs offered by public schools ultimately have more exposure to French than those going to private schools.

b. Parental School Choice

Parental choice in schooling was analyzed along two main dimensions: degree of school choice and parent's socio-economic status.

Initially, following Sonnenfeld's model, parental choice in schooling was conceptualized as a dichotomous variable, either active or passive. Preliminary data analyses showed that parental choice was not dichotomous, but rather that it moved on a continuum as shown in Figure No. 2

Figure 2

School Choice Behavior

Passive No Choice	Active, Narrow Choice	Active Wide Choice

School Choice Behavior

Parents who answered the questionnaire are grouped on this continuum according to their answers to five questions that identified the school (*)(question 4), and program the child is enrolled in (question 5a), whether parents considered the alternative program (question 5b) or other alternative school (s) before making the final selection (question 6), and the reasons for choosing a school and program (question 8). Consequently, parents (n = 185, unless otherwise stated) are grouped into three groups according to the degree of choice exerted:

(1) Passive or no choice: parents in this group exert no choice and enrol the child in the school closest to home without thinking of other possibilities. These parents represent 13% of the sample. Operationally:

*see questionnaire Appendix A

* they enrol their child in the neighborhood public school (question 4 = 3, 4, 5, 6 or 7)
* they choose the English program (question 5a = 1)
* their reported criteria for choice are: proximity, access and opportunity (question 8A 01 = 1) or they report no explicit reason (question 8A 09 = 1)
* they select the English program without considering the alternative one (question 5b = 2) or they report no reason for choosing this program (question 8B E8 = 1).

(ii) Active, narrow choice: parents in this group exert a limited degree of choice. Basically, parents in this group consider only one school - the one they enrol their child in (question 5 = 2). This group of parents is the largest of the three and includes 49% of the sample. Parents are considered narrow active choosers if they report to doing one of the following:

* they choose a public school (question 4 = 3, 4, 5, 6 or 7) and before selecting the French or English program (question 5a = 1 or 2) they consider the alternative one (question 5b = 1)
* they choose a public school (question 4 = 3, 4, 5, 6 or 7) and the French program (question 5a = 2) with no consideration of the alternative program (question 4 = 1 or 2).

Parents who consider the French program only, or, just one private school are labelled active choosers. Their choice is not the ordinary one because it involves the influence of other criteria aside from proximity. Although they have considered one school and/or program only, they presumedly have done some deliberation before the final selection.

(iii) Active wide choice: parents in this group enrolled their children in a school only after considering one or more alternatives

(question 6 = 1). The degree of parental choice in schooling is considered to be greater than the one exerted by the two previous groups. In order to select a school for their children, these parents do a greater market search and do not limit their choices to what is provided, i.e. the neighborhood public school, but consider other alternatives. Active wide choice parents represent 32% of the total sample. Table 3 shows the proportion of parents in each group.

Table 3

Percentage of Parents Included

in each Category of Choice

Degree of Choice	Number	Percentage
1. No Choice: Passive	24	13
2. Narrow Choice: Active	90	49
English program, considered French	37	20
French program, considered English	17	9
French program, did not consider English	23	12
Private school	13	7
3. Wide Choice: Deliberate Active:	60	32
English program, considered French	4	2
French program, considered English	28	15
French program, did not consider English	6	3
Private school	22	12
4. Missing Cases	11	6
Total	185	100

Analysis of parental choice by schools shows that in all public schools in the sample, the majority of parents considered the alternative English or French program offered but did not consider another school. Analysis of active parental choice by schools shows that private school parents (schools 1 and 2) exert a wider choice than public school parents (schools 3 to 7). Private school parents have considered one or more alternative schools more often than public school parents before enrolling their children in a school. Degree of choice, as previously defined, is wide for private school parents whereas it is narrow for public school patrons. Evidence of this can be seen on Figure 3.

c. Parents' Socio-economic Status (SES)

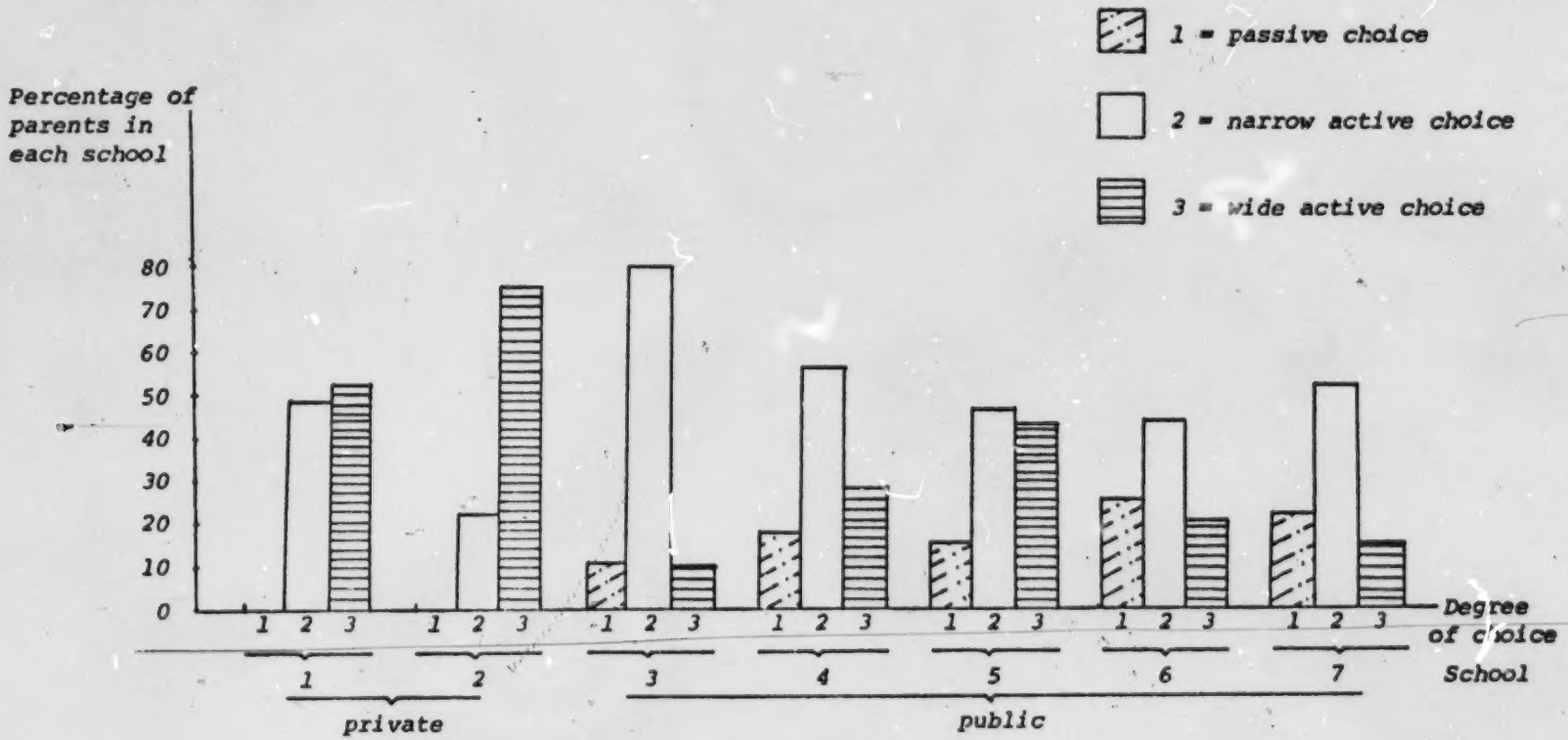
For the purpose of the present research, socio-economic status of parents is defined as a composite variable that includes:

* mother's educational level
* father's educational level
* father's occupation
* house value

As in Hollingshead's study (1958, p. 66) families are placed in socio-economic groups based on the following assumptions: (1) that social stratification exists in the community; (2) that status positions are determined mainly by a few commonly accepted cultural characteristics and (3) that items symbolic of status may be scaled and combined by the use of statistical procedures so that a researcher can quickly, reliably, and meaningfully stratify the population.

Mother's and father's educational level (question 18) are each measured on a scale from 1-7, with 1 equivalent to complete elementary education and 7 to university post-graduate education. Father's occupation

Figure 3: Parental Choice by School



(questions 20 & 21) is measured on a scale from 1 - 8, based on Pineo and Porter's occupational prestige scale for Canada (Pineo & Porter, 1967). *

Mother's occupation is difficult to scale. Only 23% of the mothers in the sample are working (doing a task and receiving payment in cash for it). Ranking housekeeping in the scale became a problem, therefore, this index was excluded from the SES scale.

House values (question 30) included in the sample vary from $13,000 to $46,000, as reported by Statistics Canada's 1971 census. These values are translated into a scale that ranges from 1 to 7 by dividing the difference between the highest and the lowest house value into seven equal categories. Thus, house value is scaled on a similar basis as education and occupation.

In order to form a socio-economic scale, the numbers of the various indices were added. As a result, the socio-economic scale used in the study ranges from 4-29.

The distribution that forms three groups (as even as possible) was adopted, and the following SES groups defined:

(i) low: scale 4 - 15, which included 31% of the sample

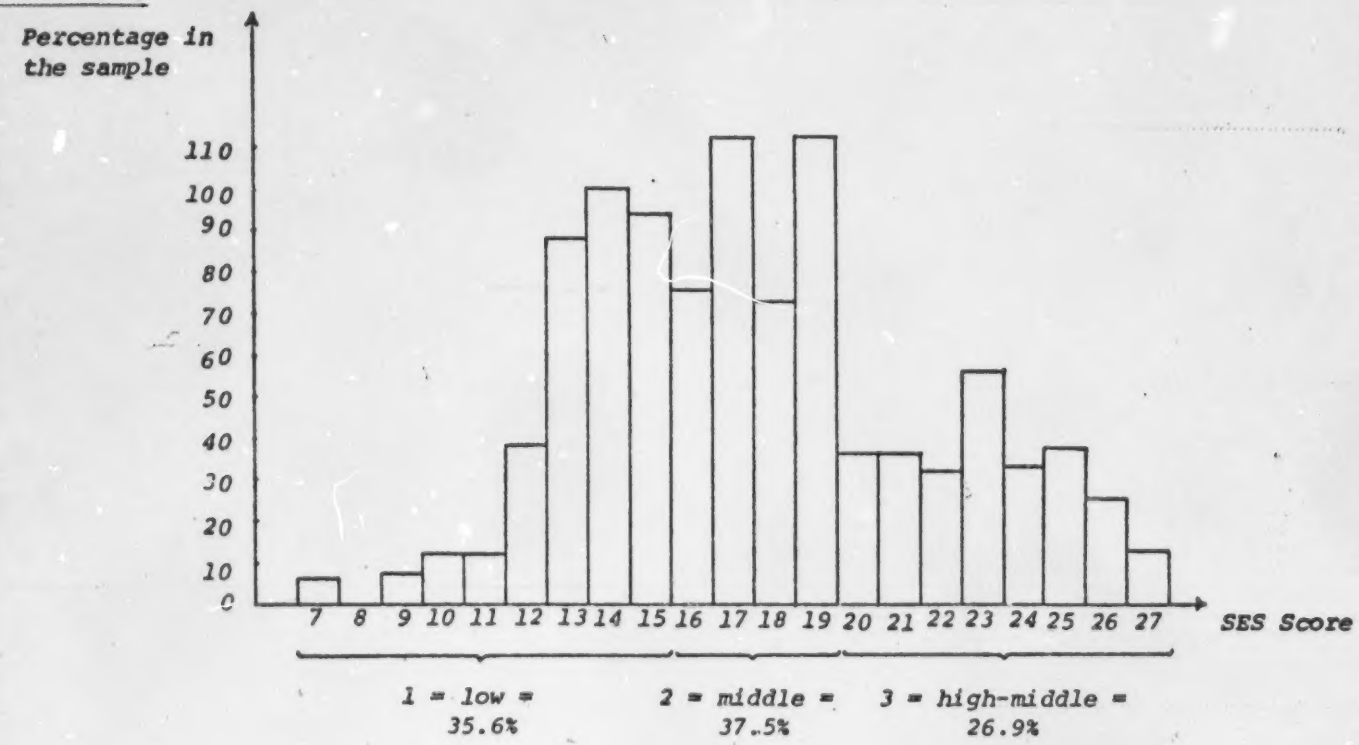
(ii) middle: scale 16 - 19, with 32% of the sample

(iii) high-middle: scale 20 - 29 with 23% of the sample

There are 14% missing cases due to omissions in the data for one or more of the SES components (see Figure 4).

* Pineo and Porter replicated a study done in the United States by the National Opinion Research Centre, 1964. The research design which they adapted required all respondents to rank 204 occupational titles. The occupational classes are: 1-unskilled; 2-semi-skilled; 3-skilled; 4-clerical and sales; 5-proprietors, managers and officials small; 6-proprietors, managers and officials large; 7-semi-professional; 8-professional.

Figure 4 : Socio-economic Distr[illegible]ion of the Sample



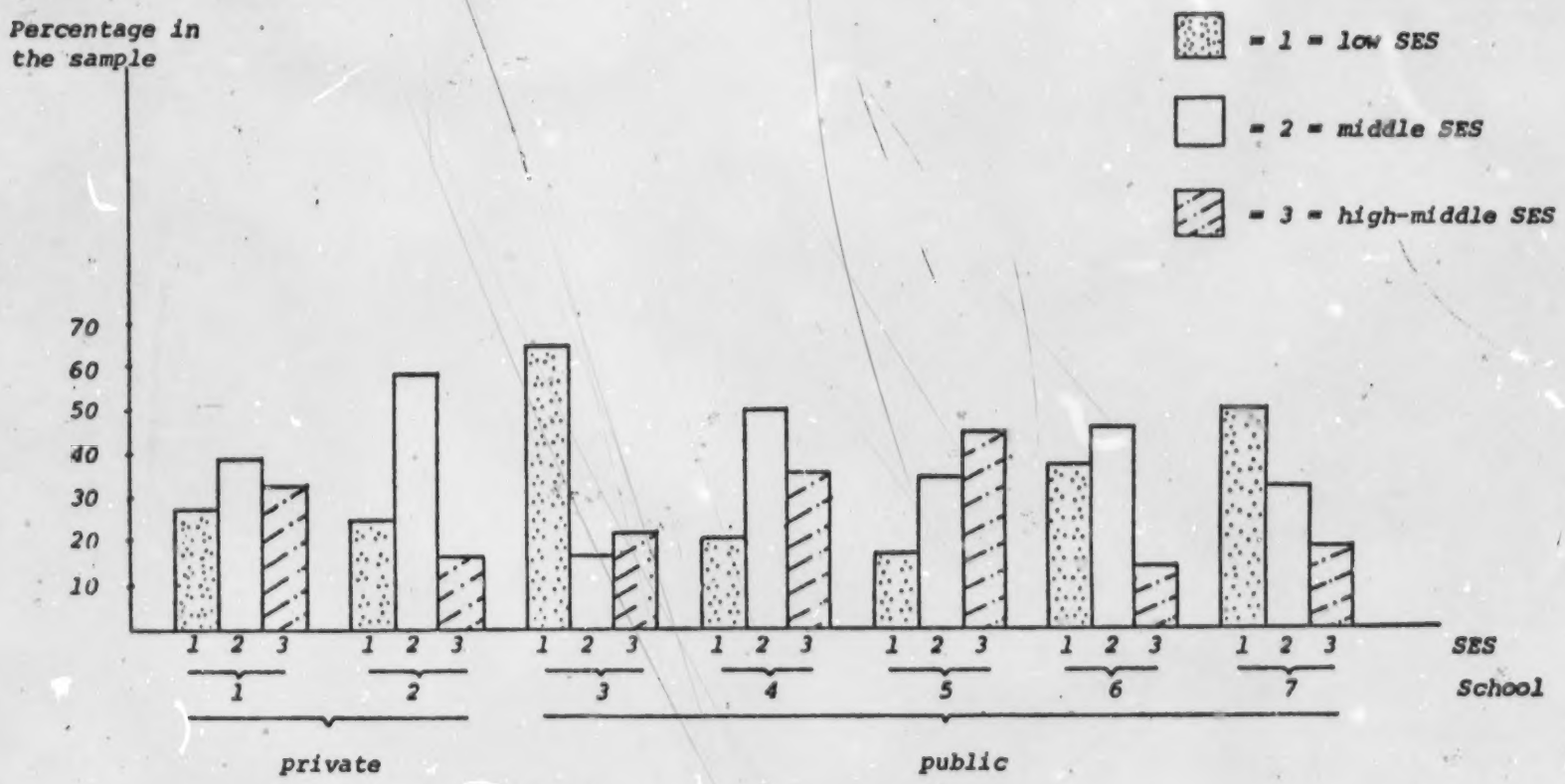
Pearson correlation coefficients (Appendix B) show that father's occupation (r = .89) and father's education (r = .85) are highly related to the family's SES. Next in importance is mother's education (r = .72). House value as an estimate of family income shows little relationship to SES (r = .45). There is a distortion effect as these coefficients are inflated as the composite SES index includes the variable involved in the correlation.

In order to calculate the descriptive statistics, each SES group is assigned a score: low = 1; middle = 2; high-middle = 3. Parents in the sample as a whole are on the average middle class (M = 1.9) while average SES scores by school range from 1.6 to 2.2. Following the same criteria by which the population is divided into three SES groups, schools in the sample can be classified as four serving below middle SES families and three serving above middle SES families. This, which may seem a contradiction to the average population's SES reported above, occurs due to the regrouping of parents by schools. Extreme values counterbalance in the total sample, whereas these differences become apparent when analysing the patterns by school. The SES results by school are in accordance to the general characteristics of population in the area as reported by Statistics Canada (1971). An illustration of this is presented in the histogram in Figure 5.

d. The Hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1 suggested that there is a positive relationship between the degree of choice exerted and socio-economic status. Results from cross-tabulating showed that if parents are divided into two groups according to the degree of choice reported - passives and actives - the hypothesis is rejected. But, if active choice parents are studied

Figure 5: Socio-economic Distribution by School



further and divided into narrow and wide active choosers, evidence is in favor of the tested hypothesis. Table interpretations showed that narrow choice behavior decreases as SES increases, while wide choice behavior increases along with SES. When the high-middle SES parent's reported behavior is analyzed, one can conclude that there is a positive relationship between socio-economic status and parental choice.

Table 4

Socio-Economic Status and Parental Choice*

SES	Choice			
	Passive	Narrow	Wide	N (row)
low	14%	61%	26%	51
middle	18%	47%	35%	60
high-middle	10%	39%	51%	41
N (column)	22	75	55	152

$\underline{x}^2 = 7.79$; $\underline{d.f.} = 4$; $\underline{p} < .10$

(*) percentages in each row add up to 100%

Further, analyses between parental choice and SES components were done. The data showed that the educational level of both parents is related to the degree of school choice. A high proportion of passive parents reported to have up to twelve years of schooling. If the analysis is focussed on active choice parents only, reported narrow choice behavior is more predominant for cases in which mother's or father's education has up to twelve years of schooling; on the other hand, parents with one or more years of college reported more often a wide choice behavior. There is no relationship between father's occupation and parental school choice where parents are divided into passive and active choosers. Still, when active choosers are divided into narrow and wide actives, the tendency

shows a positive relationship between the degree of active choice exerted and father's occupation.

Hypothesis 2, predicting a relationship between parent's access and ability to use information and choice of schools was accepted. The three main sources of information reported to have been used to learn about the selected school, other alternative schools and/or a program are: neighbors, friends and literature from the school system. A high percentage of parents reported that they did not use information to learn about other schools.

In order to analyze the main sources of information used by parents when selecting a school, a rank system was developed. The percentage of parents who reported having used each one of the information sources to select the present school is shown on Table 5, column (2). Each source was then ranked: neighbors, friends, and the principal of the selected school ranked in the first three places. In the same table, the percentage of parents who reported having used each one of the information sources to learn about other schools is shown on column (4). This time, an important proportion of parents (40%) reported not having used any source of information. Those who did ask about other schools, talked mainly to their neighbors and friends. Parents who were informed about the availability of English and French programs in the public schools (Table 5, column 6) received their information mainly through the literature from the school system, their friends and neighbors. Once the sources of information for the selected school, the other schools and the programs were ranked, a total ranking score was calculated (see Table 5, column 1) by adding the three separate scores.

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Table 5 : What Are the Main Sources of Information Used?[a]

Source :	Total Ranking Score (1)	Present School (n=182) % (2)	Present School (n=182) Ranking (3)	Other Schools (n=182) % (4)	Other Schools (n=182) Ranking (5)	Programs (n=142)[b] % (6)	Programs (n=142)[b] Ranking (7)
1. Neighbors	6	52	1	30	2	40	3
2. Friends	7	46	2	30	3	42	2
3. Literature from school system	11	28	5	10	5	55	1
4. Principal	13	34	3	8	6	39	4
5. School system central office	16	22	7	12	4	38	5
6. Teacher in the school	17	28	5	7	7	38	5
7. School meeting	18	29	4	7	7	36	7
8. No one	22	7	11	40	1	11	10
9. No one, because I knew the school	26	20	8	7	7	8	11
10. Influential community leader	28	14	9	7	10	11	9
11. Other	29	13	10	6	11	13	8

(a) Questions admitted more than one response. Therefore percentages add over 100

(b) 40 private school respondents were omitted as they have no choice of programs.

information from none to three sources (42%, n = 174),

while wide active choice parents have contact with nine or more information sources (43%). Both for passive and wide active parents Hypothesis 2 holds true. Still the same does not occur for narrow choice parents. Further details can be seen on Table 6.

Chi square tests show a relationship between the socio-economic status of parents and the number of information sources used. None to three sources of information were reported to be used more often by low SES parents while nine or more information sources were more frequently used by high-middle SES parents (Table 6).

As expected, father's education is closely related to the amount of information the family has before selecting a school. Fathers who have a year or more of post secondary education have greater access and use more information than those who have high-school education or less (Table 6).

Hypothesis 3 stated that parents choose (actively or passively) a school for their children according to certain criteria. Hypothesis 4 added that parents, according to their SES, would choose based on different criteria. It was predicted that high SES parents would be more concerned about the adequacy of the social and physical school environment, the school's program and the child's personality while in contrast, low SES parents would make a choice based mainly on the school's location and its costs. The data confirmed both Hypothesis 3 and 4. Parents in the sample did choose a school and program according to specific criteria which included: access, proximity and opportunity (54%, n=182), choice of French Immersion program available (32%), and school reputation (30%). (Open ended questions allowed for more than one answer per respondent)

Table 6

School Choice, Socio-economic Status; Father's Education and Number of Information Sources Used*

School Choice	Number of Information Sources Used				
	0-3	4-5	6-8	9 or more	N (row)
passive	42%	33%	13%	13%	24
narrow	28%	28%	30%	14%	80
wide	17%	17%	23%	43%	60
N (column)	45	43	44	42	174
$\underline{X}^2 = 23.5$; d.f. = 6; $p < .01$					
SES					
low	35%	21%	32%	12%	57
middle	18%	38%	22%	22%	60
high-middle	14%	26%	21%	40%	43
N (column)	37	46	40	37	160
$\underline{X}^2 = 18.4$; d.f. = 6; $p < .01$					
Father's Education					
up to high school	32%	28%	25%	16%	97
one or more years of college	16%	24%	26%	35%	81
N (column)	44	46	45	43	178
$\underline{X}^2 = 11.5$; d.f. = 3; $p < .01$					

* row percentages add up to 100%

The decision making process involved both parents in above 90% of cases. Still, the final decision was made predominantly by the mother (96%, n = 182). In comparison 76% of fathers are reported to have made the final decision. Almost 10% of the children participated in the decision process, while 3% are reported to have a say in the final decision.

Crosstabulations between the three main criteria used for school choice and the degree of choice exerted, show that passive choice parents are more concerned about the school being close to home, and/or being of easy access (96%) than narrow choice parents (60%) or even wide choice parents (37%). There is an important difference among the percentage of narrow choice and wide choice parents who reported having taken access into consideration for thei hool choice.

Wide active parents are more influenced by the availability of French language instruction than narrow choice parents (69% and 23% respectively). By definition, no passive choice parents are concerned about French instruction. A higher percentage of passive choice parents rely on the school's reputation for their choice (38%); followed by narrow choice parents (35%) and wide choice parents (16%) (Table 7).

The relationship between the criteria that influenced school choice and socio-economic status of parents is shown on Table 8. High-middle SES parents reported to have considered the availability of French instruction more often than middle and low SES parents, although low SES parents were more often concerned about access, proximity and opportunity of the school than narrow or wide active choice parents. Passive and narrow active parents are more concerned about school reputation than wide active parents. The number of persons reporting on other criteria is too small to warrant statistical analyses.

Because criteria for choice is important for the operationalization of degree of choice, a close ended question was stated. Respondents were asked to rate on a Lickert scale the importance of each one of eighteen factors considered in school choice. The main criteria reported in the close ended question differed from those reported in the open ended question. In this case, adequacy of curriculum, school atmosphere, and quality of the teacher led the list of factors (Table 9).

Table 7

Criteria Used in School Selection and Degree of Choice

Criteria		Choice			
		Passive	Narrow	Wide	N (row)
1. Access, proximity & opportunity:	NO	4%	40%	63%	67
	YES	96%	60%	38%	93
$\underline{x}^2 = 23.3$; $p < .05$*					
2. Choice of French available	NO	100%	77%	31%	106
	YES	0%	23%	69%	34
$\underline{x}^2 = 44.6$; $p < .05$*					
3. School reputation:	NO	63%	66%	84%	113
	YES	38%	35%	16%	47
$\underline{x}^2 = 5.8$; $p < .05$*					
N (column)		24	87	49	160

*$\underline{d.f.} = 2$

Table 8

Criteria Used in School Choice and Socio-Economic Status **

Criteria		SES			
		Low	Middle	High-Middle	N (row)
1. Access proximity & opportunity:	NO	40%	45%	53%	73
	YES	60%	55%	47%	87
$x^2 = 1.7$; $p < .40$*					
2. Choice of French available	NO	81%	68%	42%	105
	YES	19%	32%	58%	55
$x^2 = 16.7$; $p < .05$*					
3. School reputation:	NO	74%	65%	84%	117
	YES	26%	35%	16%	43
$x^2 = 4.5$; $p < .11$*					
N (column)		57	60	43	160

*d.f. = 2

** column percentage add to 100%

Table 9

Factors Considered in School Choice

(Question 13, Close Ended)

Rank	Factor	Important %	Undecided %	Unimportant %	n
1.	Adequate curriculum	88.5	2.7	8.8	168
2.	School atmosphere	87.9	6.6	5.5	176
3.	Good teacher	84.6	4.9	10.5	168
4.	Principal's attitude	83.0	9.3	7.7	173
5.	Good discipline	83.0	8.8	8.2	168
6.	Safe route	80.8	6.0	13.2	172
7.	Accessible principal and teachers	78.6	7.7	13.7	165
8.	Special programs available	73.1	12.1	14.8	164
9.	Close to home	71.4	11.0	17.6	179
10.	Good library and learning resources	68.1	18.1	13.8	168
11.	Comfortable facilities	67.0	18.7	14.3	168
12.	Student's achievement-high	56.6	23.1	20.3	166
13.	Second language taught	47.8	24.2	28.0	179
14.	Other children's background similar	35.2	20.3	44.5	170
15.	Religious education	19.2	18.7	62.1	170
16.	No extra cost	13.2	22.0	64.8	169
17.	On the way to work	4.9	6.6	88.5	168
18.	Selective admittance	2.7	13.7	83.6	163

The main criteria reported for choice of English program were: academic reasons (21%); children's characteristics (19%); and political reasons (6%). Parents who chose the French program considered mainly: the present and future benefits of having a second language (24%), academic reasons (14%), and children's characteristics and background (10%). Passive and low SES parents chose the English program more often than wide and high-middle SES parents.

Costs of schooling were measured in terms of distance to the selected school and means of getting the child to school. The data indicated that active choice and high-middle SES parents pay a higher "price" than passive choice and low SES parents in order that their children receive the education they believe to be best. About half of the wide active and the high-middle SES parents live over one mile away from the selected school and almost seventy percent planned to drive their children to school. In contrast, a great majority of passive and low SES parents live closer than half a mile to the selected school and about ninety percent of their children walk to school. (Table 10) Parents were asked to rank on a scale from 1 - 5 (1 = very important, 5 = very unimportant) the reasons for choosing to live in the area.

Data show that the main reasons for choosing a house in the area are reasonably priced housing, good community services and the availability of schools with a good reputation. Almost 54% of the respondents report that schools' reputation is an important factor for moving into the neighborhood. This finding confirms Uchitelle and Nault's study (1977) where they found that:

> over half the parents interviewed reported that one reason why they moved into Collegeville was the good reputation of the schools (1977, p. 7)

Table 10

"Price" and Degree of Choice and Socio-economic Status

How far do you live from the school?	Degree of Choice				SES			
	Passive	Narrow	Wide	N (row)	low	middle	high-middle	N (row)
Less than ½ mile	96%	74%	23%	104	75%	58%	33%	92
½ - 1 mile	4%	13%	27%	29	12%	20%	23%	29
Over 1 mile	0%	12%	50%	41	12%	22%	44%	39
$\underline{x}^2 = 56.6$; $\underline{p} < .05$*					$x^2 = 20.2$; $p < .05$*			
How will the child usually get to school?								
Walk	96%	82%	30%	115	84%	67%	33%	102
Car	4%	17%	67%	56	16%	32%	65%	56
Other (public or other paid transportation)	0%	1%	3%	3	0%	2%	2%	2
$\underline{x}^2 = 54.8$; $\underline{p} < .05$*					$x^2 = 28.9$; $p < .05$*			
N (column)	24	90	60	174	57	60	43	160

*$\underline{d.f.}$ = 4

**column percentages add up to 100%

A ranking of all items shows that the main reason for parents moving into the area is that housing was reasonably priced. Next come considerations regarding the quality of community services and schools in the area (Table 11).

Table 11

Criteria for Moving into the Neighborhood

Criteria	Mean	Mode	Std. Dev.
1. Housing was reasonably priced	2.1	1.0	1.5
2. Community services were good	2.6	2.0	1.7
3. We heard there were good schools around here	2.9	2.0	1.9
4. House values seemed to be on the rise; it was a good investment	3.2	2.0	2.0
5. The community was close to where my spouse/I work	3.2	2.0	2.0
6. We thought there were a lot of other people with life styles similar to our own	3.6	2.0	1.9

CONCLUSIONS

From the study three levels of choice were identified: 1) parents who exert no choice or passive choice (13%); 2) parents who exert a limited degree of choice or narrow choice (49%); and 3) parents who exert a wide choice or a deliberate active one (32%).

Hypothesis 1, relating degree of choice and socio-economic status (SES), was partially accepted. The data show that passivity does not seem to change along with SES. In fact, passive choice parents represent 14% of the lower SES class, 18% of the middle SES class and 10% of the high-middle SES class. However, if only active choice behavior is taken into consideration, narrow choice behavior decreases as SES increases, while wide choice behavior increases with SES.

Hypothesis 2, relating degree of choice and access and ability to use information, was accepted. The number of information sources parents reported to have used increased along with degree of choice. Passive choice parents most frequently used none to three information sources, while wide active parents reported to use most frequently nine or more sources.

Hypothesis 3 was accepted as the data showed that parents do choose a school and program according to certain criteria.

Hypothesis 4 relating types of criteria for choice and socio-economic status, was accepted. Almost all passive choice and a high proportion of low SES parents reported to be concerned about proximity and accessibility of schools. Wide active choice and high-middle SES parents showed greater concern about the availability of a French program. In choosing programs, passive choosers and low SES parents chose the English program more often than wide active choosers and high-middle SES parents.

Individual choice advocates affirm that choice in schooling is an effective means to make schools more responsive to public demand. In theory, a free market of schooling would develop competition among schools and increase the educational alternatives offered. In the present study, alternative suppliers were found to exist but in small numbers and with little variation in the service they offered. Although the study included seven schools, parents in Coquitlam faced few different alternatives as five of the schools are public, have the same common administration, show little difference in offerings amongst themselves, and have common French and English programs. Only one of the public schools offered a wider variety of choices, French and English programs, and within the latter, a choice of traditional or open education. Therefore, most parents patronizing public schools are faced with only two options while both private schools offer a bilingual (French and English) and Catholic education.

Consumer control over resources spent in schooling requires that parents be informed on the development of school activities and outcomes. Most parents in the sample have little control over what happens in the school they choose. Parent participation, a key to information, means helping with transportation and fund raising in five schools and acting as teacher aids in only two schools.

Parents in the sample do have freedom of school choice in that they are not limited by school boundaries nor by the cost of private schools. In general, parents' freedom of choice is limited only by a lack of means to evaluate educational outcomes from each alternative school and a lack of a systematic information system available to <u>all</u> parents. Another limiting factor of school choice is the lack of a transportation system. For a high proportion of passive parents and low SES parents distance to school and access are the most important criteria for school

choice. In addition, these parents have less information than active or higher SES parents. Although passive and low SES parents face the same educational alternatives they donot wish to, or they are not able to explore them. Choosing a school demands time, and perhaps passive or low SES parents cannot afford to invest time in gathering information. Another explanation suggests that less educated parents may be less able to seek information as they may feel more intimidated in talking to principals and staff than those parents who are more educated. Economic factors may also affect freedom of choice. The data shows that children who are driven to school belong mainly to high-middle SES families. Perhaps low SES parents consider the neighborhood school more often because they know they are not able to drive the child to another school.

A free market of schooling needs to be monitored so that these imperfections do not affect disadvantaged groups. Equality of educational opportunities should go beyond equal offerings. School options should be made truly available by providing transportation. Members of disadvantaged groups should be aided in school selection through systematic information and counselling.

The findings of this study point to the need for further research before implementing a free market. Parental choice of schooling should be studied considering comparisons between different districts. Results of the study would probably vary if other districts are included. For example in this study, the population's homogeneity with respect to language spoken at home (mainly English) and parent's birthplace (mainly Canada) did not test parent's ability to use information as related to parent's language and cultural background.

Other studies could be developed to analyze parental school choice and educational outcomes. When choice is available, does student achievement improve? is parental involvement increased? does a better match

between student's learning style and teacher's teaching style occur? are schools more responsive to parent's demands? Briefly, do the expected outcomes of a free market materialize?

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Subject Number: _____ (1-3) 1 (4)

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is your relationship to the child?

Father	1
Mother	2
Legal Guardian	3
Other, please specify_____	

_____ (5)

2. Please state the number of children in the family that are living at home and for whom you are responsible.

_____ _____ (6-7)

3. What place, among the children in the family, does the child you are enrolling in kindergarten occupy?

_____ _____ (8-9)

4. School your child is enrolled in:

_____ _____ (10)

5. If your child is enrolled in a school where there is a choice of program:

a) Please state the program he/she will be in:

English	1
French	2

_____ (11)

b) Before you enrolled your child in this program, did you consider placing him/her in the other program?

Yes	1
No	2

_____ (12)

6. Before you enrolled your child did you consider sending him/her to another school?

Yes	1
No	2

_____ (13)

If no, please go to question #8.

7. If yes, what other schools did you consider? Please name the schools, state if they are private or public and the main reason for not enrolling your child in each school you regarded.

Name of School(s)	Public	Private	Briefly state the main reason for not enrolling child in this school.
_____	1	2	_____
_____	1	2	_____
_____	1	2	_____
_____	1	2	_____
_____	1	2	_____
_____	1	2	_____
_____	1	2	_____

(14-15)

(16)

(17-18)

8. Why did you decide to enroll your child in the present school? If your child is enrolled in a school where there is a choice of program, please state the reasons for selecting the one you did. (Please be as detailed as possible. If necessary use the back of the page).

_____ (19-20)

_____ (21-22)

9. Who participated in deciding which school and/or program the child would go to? (Please circle as many as relevant)

Father	1	_____(23)
Mother	1	_____(24)
Other relative	1	_____(25)
Child	1	_____(26)
Legal Guardian	1	_____(27)
Other, please specify		
_____		_____(28)

10. Who made the final decision? (Please circle as many as relevant)

Father	1	_____(29)
Mother	1	_____(30)
Other relative	1	_____(31)
Child	1	_____(32)
Legal Guardian	1	_____(33)
Other, please specify		
_____		_____(34)

11. How far do you live from the school?

Less than 1/2 a mile	1	
Over 1/2-1 mile	2	
Over 1 mile - 2 miles	3	
Over 2 miles - 5 miles	4	
Over 5 miles - 10 miles	5	
Over 10 miles		_____(35)

12. How will the child usually get to school? (Please circle one only)

Walk	1	
Ride a bicycle	2	
Ride a car (either family or friend's)	3	
Public transportation	4	
School bus (free)	5	
Taxi (or other paid transportation)	6	_____(36)

13. In choosing a school for their child, some people have considered the following factors. Please look at each factor and rank it according to the importance you would give it?
(Please circle the corresponding number)

	Very Important	Important	Undecided about it's importance	Unimportant	Very Unimportant	
(a) The School was close to home.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(37)
(b) The general atmosphere of the school was the sort we wanted for our child.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(38)
(c) The school provided religious education.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(39)
(d) The principal's attitude toward the children was good.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(40)
(e) The route to school was safe.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(41)
(f) The school's curriculum was adequate.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(42)
(g) Former students' achievement was high.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(43)
(h) The children's background was similar to our own.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(44)
(i) The teacher was good.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(45)
(j) The school was on the way to work.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(46)
(k) The principal and teachers were accessible.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(47)
(l) The school admitted certain groups of children only.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(48)
(m) There was a good library and/or resource learning centre.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(49)
(n) The physical facilities were comfortable.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(50)
(o) The discipline was good.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(51)
(p) The school offered special programs suited to the child's need.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(52)
(q) The school demanded no extra costs (i.e. buying text books, art materials, monies for special events).	1	2	3	4	5	_____(53)
(r) A second language was taught.	1	2	3	4	5	_____(54)

14. Before you enrolled your child in the present school did you get information about this school from: (Please circle as many as relevant)

	Yes	No	
Neighbours	1	2	(55)
Friends	1	2	(56)
School system central office	1	2	(57)
Literature from the school system	1	2	(58)
The principal	1	2	(59)
The teacher in the school	1	2	(60)
School meeting	1	2	(61)
Influential community leader such as schoolboard member, political leader, school volunteer, or neighbour active in the community	1	2	(62)
No one, because I knew the school	1	2	(63)
No one	1	2	(64)
Other, please specify	1	2	(65)

15. Before you enrolled your child in the present school did you get information about other schools from: (Please circle as many as relevant)

	Yes	No	
Neighbours	1	2	(66)
Friends	1	2	(67)
School system central office	1	2	(68)
Literature from the school system	1	2	(69)
The principal	1	2	(70)
The teacher in the school	1	2	(71)
School meeting	1	2	(72)
Influential community leader such as schoolboard member, political leader, school volunteer, or neighbour active in the community	1	2	(73)
No one, because I knew the school	1	2	(74)
No one	1	2	(75)
Other, please specify	1	2	(76)

Subject Number

(1-3) 2 (4)

16. If your child is enrolled in a school where there is a choice of program did you get information about the programs from:

	Yes	No	
Neighbours	1	2	(5)
Friends	1	2	(6)
School system central office	1	2	(7)
Literature from the school system	1	2	(8)
The principal	1	2	(9)
The teacher in the school	1	2	(10)
School meeting	1	2	(11)
Influential community leader such as schoolboard member, political leader, school volunteer, or neighbour active in the community	1	2	(12)
No one, because I knew the school	1	2	(13)
No one	1	2	(14)
Other, please specify	1	2	(15)

17. When choosing a school for your child was there anything that you wanted to avoid? If yes, please state as fully as possible.

Yes	1
No	2

_____(16)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____
(17-18)

To help us clarify your answers statistically, may we ask you a few questions about yourself and your family? Your answers will be completely confidential.

18. Please indicate the highest educational level completed. (Please circle one number per person only)

	Mother or Guardian	Father or Guardian
Elementary (incomplete)	1	1
Elementary (completed up to Grade 7)	2	2
Junior Secondary (Grades 8 to 10)	3	3
Senior Secondary (Grades 11 to 12)	4	4
College	5	5
University graduate	6	6
University post-graduate	7	7

_____
(19-20)

19. Are you presently working either part-time or full time? (Please consider "working" to mean doing a task and receiving payment for it)

	Mother or Guardian	Father or Guardian
Yes	1	1
No	2	2

_____
(21-22)

If both Mother and Father are working, please go to question #21.

20. If you presently are not working are you: (Please circle one only)

	Mother or Guardian	Father or Guardian
Homemaking	1	1
On adult training or retraining	2	2
Currently unemployed	3	3
Receiving welfare assistance	4	4
Pensioner or retired	5	5
Disabled or ill	6	6
Other, please specify	7	7

_____
(23-24)

_____

21. Please indicate the present occupation of each parent or guardian.

Father or Guardian:

Name of the job _____ (25-26)

(If you are a supervisor, please state the number of people under your responsibility) _____

Please describe as carefully as possible the work you do:

_____

_____

Mother or Guardian:

Name of the job _____ (27-28)

(If you are a supervisor, please state the number of people under your responsibility) _____

Please describe as carefully as possible the work you do

_____

_____

22. Is English the main language spoken at home? Yes 1 / No 2 _____(29)

If yes, please go to question #25.

23. What is the main language spoken at home?

French	1
Italian	2
Chinese	3
Japanese	4
Hindi/Punjabi	5
Portugese	6
German	7
Other, please specify_____	_____(30)

_____

24. How would you rate your knowledge of English?

	Good	Fair	Poor
Mother or Guardian	1	2	3
Father or Guardian	1	2	3

(31-32)

25. Were you born in Canada?

	Yes	No
Mother or Guardian	1	2
Father or Guardian	1	2

(33-34)

26. If you were born in Canada please state the province.

	Province
Mother or Guardian	_____
Father or Guardian	_____

(35-36)

27. If you were born abroad please state the country.

	Country	
Mother or Guardian	_____	(37-38)
Father or Guardian	_____	

28. How many years have you (the respondent) lived in B.C.?

_____ (39-40)

29. How many years have you lived in this house?

_____ (41-42)

30. Please name the street in which you live and the street at your nearest corner. (For confidentiality reasons, please do not include your home number)

_____ (43-44)

31. Why did you move to this neighbourhood? Please rank the importance of each item for your decision from 1 - 5.

	Very Important	Important	Undecided about it's importance	Unimportant	Very Unimportant	
(a) The community was close to where my spouse/I work	1	2	3	4	5	(45)
(b) Friends encouraged us to move into it.	1	2	3	4	5	(46)
(c) We heard there were good schools around here.	1	2	3	4	5	(47)
(d) Housing was reasonably priced	1	2	3	4	5	(48)
(e) We thought there were a lot of other people with life styles similar to our own	1	2	3	4	5	(49)
(f) House values seemed to be on the rise; it was a good investment.	1	2	3	4	5	(50)
(g) Community services were good (i.e. transportation, hospitals, shopping centres)	1	2	3	4	5	(51)
(h) We liked the fact that in this neighbourhood there were people from many different countries.	1	2	3	4	5	(52)

Thank you for your cooperation!

Appendix B - Pearson Correlation Coefficients Among the SES Scale and Its Components

	SES	Mother's Education	Father's Education	Father's Occupation	House Value
SES	1.000**	0.725** (160)	0.852** (160)	0.886** (160)	0.448**
Mother's Education			0.575** (178)	0.484** (170)	0.17* (178)
Father's Education				0.678** (166)	0.182** (171)
Father's Occupation					0.215** (164)
House Value					

Note: Numbers in parentheses are sample sizes

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$